1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

weaving ponchos, blankets, belts, and dresses. Water is fetched by women, although men sometimes lend a hand, and it is not unusual for women to raise garden produce, care for flocks of poultry, and help with some phases of farming and house building.

Mapuche men are expected to do most of the heavy manual labor connected with farming, such as care for the oxen and horses, construct houses, gather fuel, and cut wood. They also make a few implements such as hockey sticks and simple flutes or whistles, and they serve as drivers whenever a journey has to be made by oxcart.

An observer from the United States is inevitably struck by the disproportionate amount of work that is done by children. In fact, a woman with grown but unmarried daughters and a man with unwed, adolescent sons may be said to live "in retirement." Such parents will, as a rule, lie abed late or remain indoors when the weather is bad, while the girls cook and look after the house and the boys attend to the outdoor chores. Regardless of weather it is a common sight to see boys as young as ten to twelve handling a yoke of oxen hitched to a plow or a cart (Pl. I, Figs. 1 and 2). It must not be thought that children are unhappy or resentful under these circumstances, for they are not. On the contrary, they are generally pleased to be treated as adults, and boys, especially, are proud and joyful to be entrusted with the responsibilities of grown-ups.

Araucanian men are frequently charged with being shiftless and lazy, and there is considerable truth to these accusations. Except at planting and harvesting times they do not exert themselves very much. One must realize, however, how few are the outlets or rewards for ambition. Those who live on reductions have little opportunity to gain money, and without money they cannot buy whatever may be necessary to better their condition. Consequently, as a group, the people tend to be apathetic, as though pervaded by a spirit of hopelessness. This applies particularly to young adults of both sexes, some of whom annually forsake the reservations in order to seek work in cities.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

fields or are away from home much of the time. For the most part, however, children under six or seven years spend their waking hours at play. Little boys run races, wrestle and pull one another's hair, pretend to plow, and walk about carrying miniature hockey sticks with which they strike at a ball or at any small stone or object along the path. Girls prefer to play with dolls fashioned of cane or bamboo into human shape, *puñeñkantu*. They take care of them as if they were babies, dressing and undressing them, and occasionally pretending to hold curing rites over them because they are supposed to be ill.

CHILDHOOD

Before they have reached the seventh birthday youngsters begin to pass out of the carefree stage of infancy, and to learn the tasks that are appropriate to their sex. Sometimes they receive spoken instructions from their elders, but more often they learn from observation and imitation. Adults make it a point to take them along when they leave the house, and to converse with them while they are at work. In this way children are made ready to undertake their first serious chores, which usually consist of herding and caring for sheep. Boys or girls generally serve as shepherds between the ages of six or seven and twelve. They take their flocks out to graze in the morning, and if they expect to remain away until late in the day they may take some bread or parched wheat, plain or sweetened with honey. At some time in the afternoon the herders drive their flocks into a corral or a field near home, and go into the house for the midday meal.

The children have various ways of amusing themselves in order not to be lonesome while they are herding. Most often they sing aloud the songs they have learned from their elders, and occasionally they shout something for other shepherds in the neighborhood to hear. They do not try to carry on actual conversations at long distance, but they get a sense of companionship simply from hearing one another's voices when they are out of sight. This is especially true on misty days, when each little shepherd feels cut off from the rest of the world.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

857 Sometimes, when he is out with his flock, a boy will practice hockey or run dashes by himself. At other times he may straddle a stout piece of bamboo, pretending that it is a horse, and gallop about. He may even heighten the illusion by inserting bits of cloth at one end of the stick to serve as ears, and he may wind thread about one end for use as bridle and reins. Another favorite pastime is to collect bits of sticks and twigs, and to insert them into the ground in patterns that suggest houses, corrals, stables, animals, and similar familiar objects.

857 868 Girls may continue to tend sheep for an extended period of years, but boys are impatient to turn the duty over to a younger sibling at the first opportunity. Thereafter, boys begin to go into the fields with the men, and they learn to handle horses and oxen, and to perform agricultural duties. They also begin to take hockey more seriously, and they attend matches played by teams of adults. They race and wrestle more vigorously, and they become skilled in the use of slings and bolas with which they hunt small animals. Their sisters, besides herding sheep, are learning to cook and weave and to run a household. Before long teen-aged boys and girls acquire all the skills of adults and begin to assume the tasks and responsibilities of grown men and women.

787 857 Preadolescent brothers and sisters enjoy great familiarity. They joke and play together freely, sing, and tell stories. Occasionally, they test their fortitude, or allow their elders to do so, by burning bits of linseed wood or linseed straw against the skin of hand or arm. This custom, called *kopan*, was once widely in vogue and had a special significance. Every child on the verge of puberty had four marks burned with linseed on the wrist and elbow joints, and these marks were supposed to light his way to the other world if he died. *Kopan* is still commonly practiced. It is looked upon as a test of bravery, for a child who brushes off the bit of glowing coal is branded a coward. It also has the significance of a minor rite of divination, in the belief that no serious injury will result if a youngster is destined to grow into a healthy adult.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE I

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FIG. 1. Young boy driving an oxcart.

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FIG. 2. Little boys with oxen raking a newly plowed field.

[end plate I]

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

PLATE IV

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FIG. 1. Children playing *chueca* in the schoolyard at Cautinche. From the entrance of the caravan.

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FIG. 2. Women wearing traditional Araucanian costumes. The pompons worn by the younger women are commonly used on festive occasions.

[end plate 4]

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

526 a ball game, pillma, in which the ball of rush was thrown from under the thigh and volleyed by hand.

525 The two most important games of chance were the bean game (llique, lūqn, lūq) played with 8 to 12 beans, each painted black on one side, the beans themselves being "talked to" when thrown; and kechu, played with five-faced triangular dice of wood or bone.

Both of these last two games were distinctly gambling games. Gambling occurred, too, in connection with pillma, and among the modern *Araucanians*, who took over Spanish playing cards. Early

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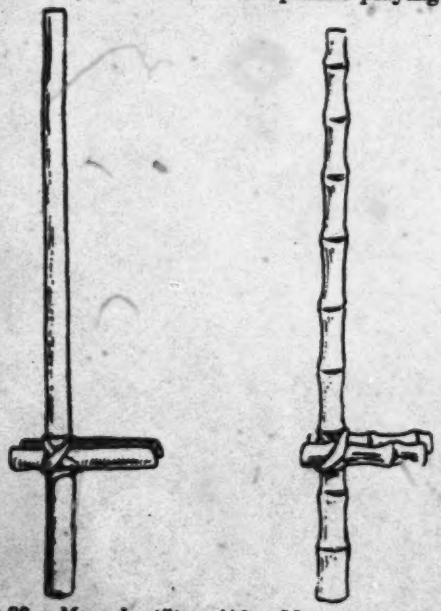

FIGURE 82.—*Mapuche* stilts. (After Manquilef, 1914, fig. 3.)

records of gambling in Bascuñan (1863, p. 61), Ovalle (1888, 12:163), and Rosales (1877–78, 1:169–70) suggest that *Araucanian* gambling was aboriginal, at least not derived from the Spaniards. At any rate, since the early 17th century, the *Mapuche* are consistently described as inveterate gamblers.

857 524 Among the many types of play common among the children were wrestling, foot races, top spinning by hand, swinging, hide and seek, and two games (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:552, 748–49) resembling our jacks and blindman's buff, both the latter suggestive of European influence. Stilts (fig. 82), mentioned as early as the middle 18th century by Febrés (1882, s. v. thenticahue; cf. Manquilef, 1914, pp. 275–76; Félix José, 1916, 1:230), may be native. Havestadt (1883, 2:648; cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 157–58) mentions a guessing game in

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

which only the first syllable of a word was pronounced by one player and the other players had to fill out the whole word. (For detailed treatment of games and sports, cf. Manquilef, 1914.)

Tobacco.—Smoking as a recreational habit appears to be a quite recent development among the *Araucanians*. Bascuñan (1863, p. 160) mentions smoking as part of the shaman's ceremonial; Barlaeus (1647, p. 269), the blowing of smoke from the mouth and nose to Pillan. (See account of Pillan cult under Religion, infra.) Havestadt (1883, 2:746) reports the ceremonial fumigation of hockey sticks with tobacco smoke, and (2:663) the use of tobacco at the ngillatun rite; Olivares (1874, p. 493) and Carvallo i Goyeneche (1876, p. 138), fumigation by the shaman. But the early sources do not, to the writer's knowledge, record tobacco smoking as a secular habit. Pipes were of stone, clay, and wood. Monitor-type pipes were common. The Indians of the archipelago of Chiloé used a plant substitute for tobacco when the latter was lacking. Tobacco was mixed with the bark of *Aristotelia maqui* and of other plants (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 278). The native name for tobacco is petrem (Félix José, 1916, 1:369), pitrén (Lenz, 1904–10, 2:616), púthem (Febrés, 1882), ptem (L. de Valdivia, 1887). The theory of its derivation from *Guaraní* pety does not seem probable (Lenz, l.c.).

There was no snuffing or chewing of tobacco; recently, old or married women but not single women smoked sometimes (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 278, 280).

The use of *Datura stramonium* as a narcotic has been mentioned supra under Education, (p. 734).

Intoxicating beverages.—Heavy drinking is consistently attributed to the *Araucanians* from the times of the earliest writers, such as P. de Valdivia, Ercilla, Mariño de Lovera, Oña, González de Nájera, and Bascunan, down to the present day. The heaviest drinking was done at the feasts, but according to Rosales (1877–78, 1:155) some of the *Araucanians* drank only chicha and never water even in their own homes. Fermented beverages were made from more than a dozen different kinds of grains and seeds, berries and fruits, and tubers. (Cf. list in Guevara Silva, 1929, 2:189–90.) Among grains and seeds so used were maize, quinoa, Araucaria nuts, and later, wheat and barley; among the berries and fruits, molle (*Schinus latifolius*), maki (*Aristotelia maqui*), myrtle berries, strawberries (*Fragaria chiloensis*), etc., and in post-Contact days, apples, pears, and quinces; and potatoes. Favorite drinks among these were those from maize, strawberries, and apples. Making fermented beverages was the woman's task. In the preparation of them from grains, part of the process consisted of mastication of the flour. The flour so saturated with saliva was put in water and stirred, and the water then put in the pot and heated.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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Small children: 1, Boys playing riding horseback (Coñaripe). 2, "Do you always wear shoes?" asked the little girl of the writer (Boroa). 3, Little girl transporting her brother (Coñaripe).

[p. 12(E)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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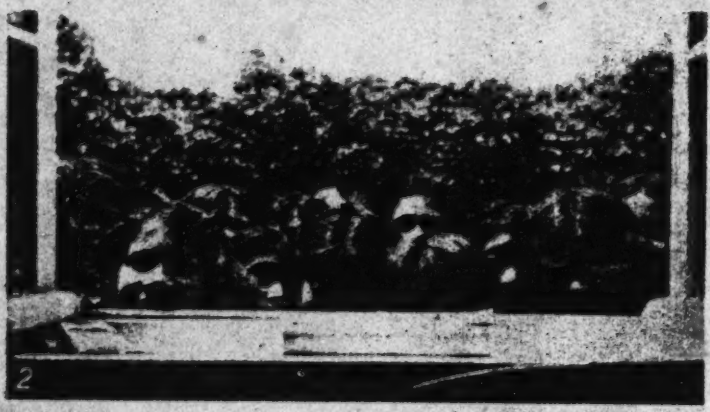

Young children and older ones: 1, Girls hold their play cart in position while their little brother mends it. (Coñaripe.) 2, Schoolgirls interested in the first typewriter they have ever seen. Each is waiting to have her name typed by the writer. (Alepúe.) 3, Schoolgirls lounging in the schoolyard during the lunch hour. (Alepúe.)

[P.28(0)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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[482]

Alepúe schoolchildren at recess time: 1, Boys carving tops out of wood. 2, Girls peeling apples to be served as apple butter at lunch time. 3, Carrying wood for the Sisters' kitchen stove before a rain.

[P. 28(E)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

857 Games on school grounds were generally played together by children 5+12 of the same age groups. During recess periods the same three or four older girls were usually seen sitting together chatting. Usually girls from a particular countryside have a feeling of closeness to each other, probably because they walk to and from school together; the same is true of boys. Lasting friendships are thus formed and extend through adult life.

857 Leadership among children does not seem to exist in any pronounced way. Oratory gives prestige in the choosing of a leader, even though it may not need to be exercised on the occasion for which the leader is chosen, such as a procession. (Oratory gives distinction to elders, also; something children undoubtedly know.) Quoting a teacher: "No particular child in school acts as a leader at all times. Any child, for instance, may suggest a game or the doing of something and others will respond 'Bueno!' and off they will go to play or to do the thing."

Joviality and fun are part of the Araucanian child's life. Schoolchildren told their own and each other's nicknames with much laughter and teasing. A little girl brought an old-time silver neckpiece to school. Every little girl placed it around her own neck, and then one placed it around the teacher's neck, at which all clapped their hands, laughed, danced around, and made complimentary remarks. There was much joviality, too, between older girls who spent recess helping an herbalist do a washing. At the end they slapped each other with pieces of wet wash and laughed good-naturedly.

THE SENSES OF THE CHILD

151 A child's eyesight is keen. So are its powers of observation. School children gave as points that they could see distinctly from the shore of the Pacific below Alepúe, the Isla Mocha, Punta Quele, Punta Corral, and Puerta Saavedra (see fig. 1)—points that neither the field assistant, the interpreter, nor I could see even faintly. Quoting the interpreter, a non-Araucanian herbalist: "These Mapuche children have very keen sight. At great distances they can name the person whom they see working or walking there. I cannot see there so much as a speck, and I have excellent sight. Going along a path, they will trace the steps of tiny insects that have gone that way, also; I can hardly see them. When we look for anything outdoors, children find it immediately. Their sense of hearing is just as keen."

822 Red, blue, and green in bright shades are favorite colors of school children. Several little girls were disappointed in not finding these in a box of miscellaneous crayons: "We wanted to put nice colors on

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

these flowers for you; now we have to use paler ones." They had drawn conventionalized daisylike flowers. Children who drew houses chose a variety of colors for parts of houses, such as walls, doors, windows, and roofs. Smoke was colored brown by each one; water, blue; grass, green; and the flag of Chile, red, blue, and white in the proper places. Two little girls sat quiet for about five minutes, thinking, after the time for drawing had been announced. "I shall make a house," said one. "And I shall make a flower," said the second. In 10 minutes a pencil sketch had been made of the flower; only one line of the house had been drawn. "I must get a ruler," said the first one; "I cannot make a pretty house without a ruler." 822

Children everywhere enjoyed flowers, which were found in many gardens. Near one ruka a 5-year-old boy stuck three little flowers into the sweater of his 2-year-old brother. Their older sister remarked: "These two boys go into the garden every morning to pick flowers; they like flowers. So do I. I always have a little bouquet where I work." A bouquet stood on a low table near her loom. 824 857

When schoolchildren were asked what animals they recognized because of their odor, the skunk and the pig were listed, the former four times oftener than the latter. To the question, "Can you smell, when you come home, that strangers have been there?" all answered, "No." Many noted that the smoke overcame all odors in the ruka. 151

COURTESY, SHARING, OBEDIENCE

Courtesy is taught to children in a positive way. A parent will see to it that a child, no matter how young, shakes hands with everyone who arrives at the ruka; if the child happens not to be at home when visitors arrive, it must do so when it comes home. It is pleasant to see even a toddler going from one visitor to another and shaking hands. 867 576

When elders speak, children either listen or are expected to be, and usually are, busy in a quiet way at play or work. During an interview a 7-year-old boy repeatedly asked his mother for something which she was obviously refusing him; conversation between them was in whispers. When I suggested that the boy be given what he wanted, the mother replied that what he wanted he was not to have. She finally turned to him and said gently, but with determination, "Learn to be a little man." Soon after that she diverted his interest by sending him out of the ruka to quiet a barking dog.

Children are trained not to pass in front of persons. On occasions, during interviews, when there was much space between speakers and very little back of them, a child crawled low to pass behind persons,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

857 576 or squeezed himself through a narrow space. Children pay this same courtesy to each other. "Anybody with sense," said a grandmother, "would know that much, and would show that much respect to others; only animals could be excused for such actions as passing in front of others."

867 Children are taught to give and to share. On one occasion a mother showed a handkerchief that I had given her to her 6-year-old son, and then led him by the hand to the storage space in the ruka, put an egg into each of his hands, pushed him forward toward me, and had him give me the eggs and say, "This is for you." Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher on sharing: "I have often been edified at the manner in which children will share with each other. If one helps me with work, or does me a favor, and I repay him, say with a sweet roll, he will break off pieces and hand everyone present a piece the next minute. When a football club was being formed early in the school year, every boy was expected to pay a peso. One boy did not have that amount; at once others handed him extra centavos they had. Another time children were buying notebooks, and one of the girls had no money. Another girl slipped her a coin immediately."

From the time a child gives evidence of comprehending an order, it is trained to obey—the mother recognizes this when she has sent a child some place to carry out her bidding, and the child has done so. The mother will say, "Kimñē ñi penen" or "Kimñē pichi" (my child already understands). Such a child is addressed as pichi weche ŋen (little one) or as pichi weche wentru (little young man). "Some children can carry out an order when three or four years old; others not until they are five or six." From then on until puberty, the boy is spoken of as futra wentru (growing-up boy); the girl as futra domo (growing-up girl). The adolescent boy is addressed as pichi wentru (little man); the girl as pichi domo (little woman).

A child that does not obey promptly may be warned, but an order is not repeated. Orders may come from older brothers and sisters, as well as from parents. Children that were hushed, corrected, or ordered to do a thing obeyed willingly and quite promptly. A 19-year-old girl told her 5-year-old brother to fetch her a basket; promptly he went for it. A 2-year-old boy was told by his older sister to spit a blade of grass out of his mouth; he did so at once. A 60-year-old woman, when asked "How can you manage four sons?" answered with a laugh: "I am like a lion in my house! My boys all obey me. From little on, when I wanted them to do a thing, I told them once, plainly so they understood; if they did not obey then, I knew they were stubborn and I used a stick on them."

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Alepún boy making a top from wood of luma: 1, Cutting a piece of wood to proper size with an ax. 2, Whittling it into shape with a jackknife. 3, Examining its proportions. 4, Smoothing its surface by rubbing it over a steel file.

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[p. 76(A)]

10: Hilger E 5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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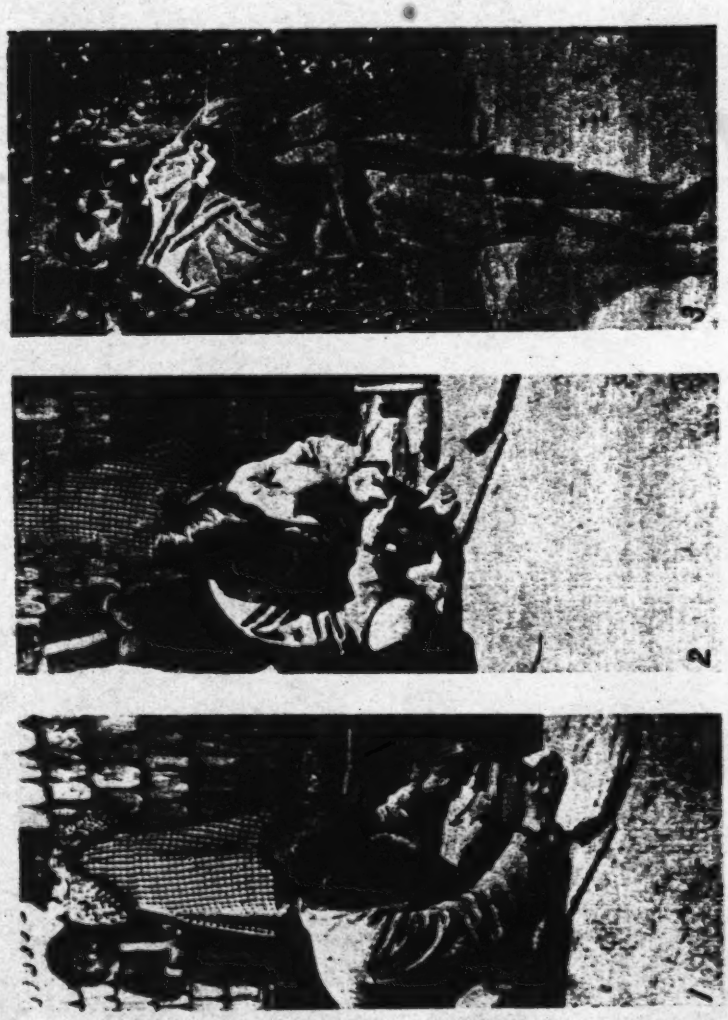

Making a top (continued): 1, Hammering a shingle nail into the tip of the top. 2, Filing away the head of the nail and giving the nail a dull point. 3, Twisting a cord to be used in spinning the top. (See plate 16 also for twisting of cord.)

[P. 76(B)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

Spinning the top: 1, Winding the cord about the surface of the top. 2, Spinning the top. 3, The boy has slid his hand under the spinning top and now lets it continue to spin in his hand.

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[p. 76(c)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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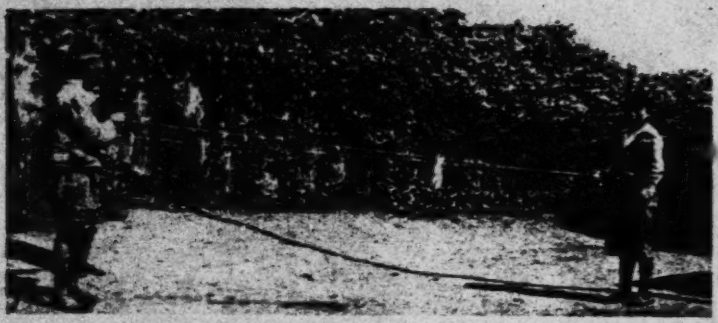

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Tops (Alepüe): 1, Twisting a cord for a top. 2, 3. Playing a competitive game with tops.

[p. 76(D)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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Performing the dances of adults (Alegúe): 1, 2, Boy 7 years of age and girl 10 dancing the waise. (Note their lack of inhibitions.) 3, 4, Boys 11 and 12 years of age dancing the cheike with girls 13 and 14 years of age. (Note their bashfulness in figure 3.)

[p. 76(E)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Aleuite boy making a futhal of cochayuyo: 1, This boy has just returned from the Pacific with the cochayuyo as sho 2, Dampening the cochayuyo with saliva helps to make the initial knots tight. 3, The beginning of the ball. 4 The ball being built up by slipping the strand of cochayuyo under and through the tightened loops of the ball.

[p.76(F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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Making a futhal (continued): 1, Using a small stick to push the thick end of the cochayuyo through a loop. 2, Chewing an end of a second strand of the cochayuyo to soften it, thus facilitating its use. 3, The completed futhal. 4, "Bueno! It bounces."

[p. 76(G)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

GAMES

During recesses at school and at fiestas children engaged in group playing. Small boys and girls together played a game of tag they call cholo (mixed-blood). The "it" tags a child and calls "cholo." Then the cholo is "it." Older girls played tag, also, designating a tree as a goal of safety—anyone touching the tree could not be tagged.

Girls 14 to 16 years of age tossed from one to the other (anticlockwise) while sitting on the lawn, a handkerchief into which several knots had been tied. Other girls of the same age were often seen sitting in groups in the sun, chatting.

The favorite pastime of boys 11 to 15 years of age was spinning tops (pl. 16, *2* and *3*). Every boy owned a top and the cord with which he spun it—in all probability he had made both. A 12-year-old boy demonstrated the making of a top (pls. 13-15). He whittled with a knife, then chopped down all sides of a 2¾-inch cube of luma in line with the grain. "I like luma best," he remarked, "because it is hard wood." All cutting was done away from the body. When the cube showed the shape of a top, he filed it down on a steel file which he supported between his chest and some wires on a post. This done, he inspected the surface for places that would give the top imbalance and then filed these down. He hammered a shingle nail into the point of the tip and filed off its head to a dull point. He now wound a cord (anticlockwise) about the surface of the top, from the point upward, released the top, and it spun. "Bueno! Bueno!" all boys, nonparticipant observers in the making of the top, called out. Smaller boys had watched intently every step in the making, and had been helpful in handing implements needed. It took 45 minutes to make the top. The same boy demonstrated the making of a cord (pl. 16, *1*). He and a schoolmate each held the end of a cord taut between them as they stood some distance apart. They then twisted the cord, each one in the opposite direction from the other. When sufficiently twisted, ends were brought together and the cord allowed to twirl itself. Cords released when flour sacks are ripped were favored by boys for making top cords. No boy had used plant fibers in making cords. "But do not use flocha, if you use any; it is too coarse and rough."

When playing with tops a boy may spin his on the ground, or he may slide his hand under it while it spins and let it continue to spin in the palm of his hand. One top, after spinning 15 seconds on the ground, spun another 30 seconds in the hand. Often boys play a competitive game, the goal being to see whose top will spin longest. Seven boys competed one day; the winning top spun 50 seconds.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

opening of a meeting. Each had four Chilean coins, 20-centavo pieces. Generally, 10 or more coins are used. One man shook his four coins in the hollow of his joined hands, and asked his opponent, "Caro o sello" (face or seal)? (The face of Bernardo O'Higgins, the Chilean hero, is on one side of the coin; the words "veinte centavos" on the other.) His opponent answered, "Caro," whereupon the man threw the coins into the air. As soon as they landed on the ground, both men pointed at the ones that had turned up caro, and the opponent picked them up. He now shook his four coins. They did this alternately for some time. Other men who in the meantime had arrived for the meeting became nonparticipant observers.

Two games of chance, according to Cooper's source, were the bean game (llique, lüqn, lüq) played with 8 to 12 beans, each painted black on one side, and kechu, played with 5-faced triangular dice of wood or bone (1946, p. 940).

TOYS, IMITATIVE PLAY, PETS

Most Araucanian children had few toys, if any, in the early days; only a few have them today. A child that is able to walk plays with sticks and stones that lie around; sometimes with chicks and kittens. Toddlers were seen making piles of little stones. "When I was a little boy," said a 45-year-old man, "an older person carved a pair of oxen and a little oxcart out of wood for us to play with; very few children had any toys at all. I have eight children: none has had a toy." In the yard of a ruka I observed a little boy and his two little sisters playing with a miniature oxcart made by an older brother (pl. 10, 1).

Dolls were not commonly part of the Araucanian child's life, and only rarely does a little girl have one today. A 40-year-old woman had had a rag doll when a little girl; her mother had made it "out of a piece of cloth; it had only a head; the rest of the cloth hung down. Some Mapuche girls today have the same kind of doll." A few schoolgirls had a doll or had had one when small; one had been cut out of cardboard, two had been rag dolls, and four had been bought in a store. One girl had molded clay into a figurine, "like a little doll"; her sister had molded a flower. "Mama had clay left after making ollas."

Schoolboys had made their own playthings. They molded marbles of clay, wove balls of cochayuyo, and whittled tops out of wood. A 15-year-old boy made himself a bull roarer (runrun) of a pop-bottle cap. He flattened the edge over the cork part by hammering it on a

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

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rock, examined it to make certain that the edge was round, pounded two holes close to the center but a little apart making it look like a two-holed button. Then he ran a cord through each hole, shoved the cap to the middle, held both ends of the cord and swung the cap in circles with one hand, pulled the string taut, released it, and the cap buzzed.

A child learned to make playthings by observing older children doing so. When a boy wove a ball of cochayuyo, smaller boys sat around him concentrating on what he was doing; when an older boy whittled a top, they got close enough to see, even lying on their stomachs in order to see better each step in the making.

Imitating elders in various activities is one of the playtime occupations of children. Playing at riding horseback is a favorite pastime for small children. In the yard of one ruka, a 5-year-old boy and his 2-year-old brother straddled a young slender branch, which represented the horse. The older boy had stripped it of all leaves and little twigs. "This is a white horse," he said. They paced about the yard for a little while, then the older boy switched back of himself with a stick as does a rider on a horse. Both boys now galloped. With every switching the "horse" received, the two jolted along faster. Soon they slowed up, paced a little, suddenly twirled around a few times, and then paced about the yard again. Their 19-year-old sister remarked, "My older sister and I played riding horseback just like that, when we were little." Later the older boy rode a heavier stick alone: he paced, galloped, and twirled as before. Another frequent pastime is for an older child to be the "horse" for a younger brother or sister—the younger one straddling the back of the older one who is on hands and feet. Children were also seen playing at lassoing, one being the man and the other the horse.

A teacher told of preadolescent boys playing getting drunk, becoming intoxicated, and then having a fist fight. "This is exactly what they see the men do at every fiesta, at threshing time, and when a ruka is built," the teacher remarked. "They played this in my kitchen on a rainy day last week."

Playing house is a common pastime for preadolescent girls. Quoting a non-Araucanian teacher: "From my window I often observe schoolgirls playing house—there are fathers and mothers and children. Visitors come, riding other children as horses. Clover leaves are served as meals, and water, supposedly yerba maté, is drunk from seashells. Sometimes I am invited and I drink their water and eat their clover." A Boroa herbalist said: "I have never seen a Mapuche child play with a doll or a toy of any kind, but I have often seen little

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

brothers and sisters build little ruka together and play house in them while they tend the family's sheep or pigs, keeping them out of grain fields. If the herding is done close to another ruka, the children of that ruka join in the house playing." Little girls also build little ruka at home and play house in them.

During a noon hour schoolgirls 10 and 13 years of age played going on a visit. Three groups, three, four, and five girls, respectively, each prepared a habitation by clearing a place of grass and stones between two pine trees that stood in a row on the playground. Next, the girls scampered around to get material for their fireplaces—handfuls of dry grass, chips off fence posts, and little pieces of wood that lay around. "This is just like our fireplace at home," remarked one of the girls. She had laid the grass in the center of the cleared space, the chips on top of the grass, and then the pieces of wood in the position of spokes on a wheel on top of the chips. They then collected large mushrooms that grew under the pine trees. "This is our bread." All was ready now. Three small girls, who had been told to while away time at a distance, were invited to come in for a visit. Each group had a visitor then. "They are our visitors; we are playing visiting."

In general, children are fond of animals and treat them kindly. If a child has a pet, it is usually a chick or a kitten; less often a lamb. Dogs are not pets, not even of older boys—older boys favor a horse. In fact, neither children nor adults like dogs to be near them; a dog is shooed away with a "hstch" sound. A child is often seen making a pretense of throwing a stick or stone at a dog to keep it from coming nearer. When the dog stops barking or moves on, the child drops whatever it has and continues on its way. Older children or adults sometimes actually throw a stick or stone toward a dog to end its barking, but never aim it at the dog. In reality, everyone is kind to dogs. "We do not hit or kick a dog; a dog is man's protector. He protects the ruka and whatever is near it, such as sheep. He protects sheep from pumas too; pumas like to sneak into sheep corrals at night." A man going any distance on foot will take one or two dogs with him as a protection against pumas. To make a dog's bark sound ferocious, a pinch of chili is put into his food daily. Very rarely is a wild animal tamed and enjoyed as a pet; rabbits definitely never, as they are classed with rats; "not even their meat is eaten."

Schoolchildren aged 10 to 15 listed animals that talked either to them or to other animals, as dogs, cats, hens, roosters, chicks, turkey gobblers, young turkeys, geese, horses, foals, cows, sheep, and partridges. No child, however, knew what any of these animals said. Other animals that talked, but only to animals of their own kind, were turkey

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

824 857 hens, pigs, parrots, and doves, and also several species of birds found in the area, namely, hummingbirds, robins, bandurria, zorzal, tordo, diuca, pitiu, and the tregle. The children knew that the turkey hen tells the little turkeys to hide in the bush or somewhere else when she sees a hawk flying her way, and also that the turkey hen talks when a dog comes around. "The tregle," said a little girl, "is a bird that talks at night. If someone of a family comes home after dark, the tregle announces his coming. Those that hear the tregle will say, 'He is coming home now.' The tregle does not stay where people are, but some Mapuche make him stay in the garden to eat worms and insects; they cut off the tips of the feathers of one of his wings so that he cannot fly away, but this is cruel." To which a little boy added: "The tregle talks before one sees him. See there on the little stones [on a river's edge] you can see his eggs. See how he walks around in the water, and talks and talks and pretends he is looking for fish—he does not want us to see his eggs; we call him trequell."

Quoting other children: "Parrots talk much but cannot be saying anything important, for they are stealing the wheat that has just been planted!" "The bandurria talks very loud while he is flying—you can hear him best in the afternoon when he and his partners fly to the lake to take a drink." "The zorzal digs in the earth for worms and catches bugs from the air, and never says a word then; but when he gets into the strawberry patch, he talks and talks; we call him wilki." "The pitiu sits on fences and talks in a high pitch, and only once. He usually calls his own name."

The writer was taught by schoolchildren how to identify other birds: The tordo (thrush) calls kərew, an Araucanian word; it is black and has a long bill. A loica (robin) has a very red breast. The picaflor (hummingbird) is a tiny bird with a long bill; it takes nectar from flowers. The diuca has gray-blue feathers. The perdiz grande (partridge) runs around in fields; it has a very small tail. The choroy (parrot), the one that infests wheat fields and gardens, is green. The bandurria—the Chileans call it raki—has a metallic cry; its cry is called traktrakün.

SWIMMING, HORSEBACK RIDING, SHOOTING

526 Boys who live near lakes or deep rivers learn to swim in early childhood. Swimming in the Pacific, in general, is forbidden by parents because of the danger of drowning. Good swimmers, both boys and men, pride themselves on their ability. Girls and women do not swim. According to Cooper's sources the Araucanians were excellent swimmers and divers (1946, p. 729).

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

252 with earth, and an active fire kept burning over them all day. In time for the evening meal, the luche is removed from the leaves and cooked in water until well done. It is then either added to a caldo, usually meat broth with potatoes, or is deep fried and eaten with boiled potatoes. Cochayuyo is collected at low tide by women. They can be seen standing on the shore, each pulling at one until it is released from its roots. Cochayuyo is tied into small bundles, cooked, and eaten either deep fried or in a caldo.

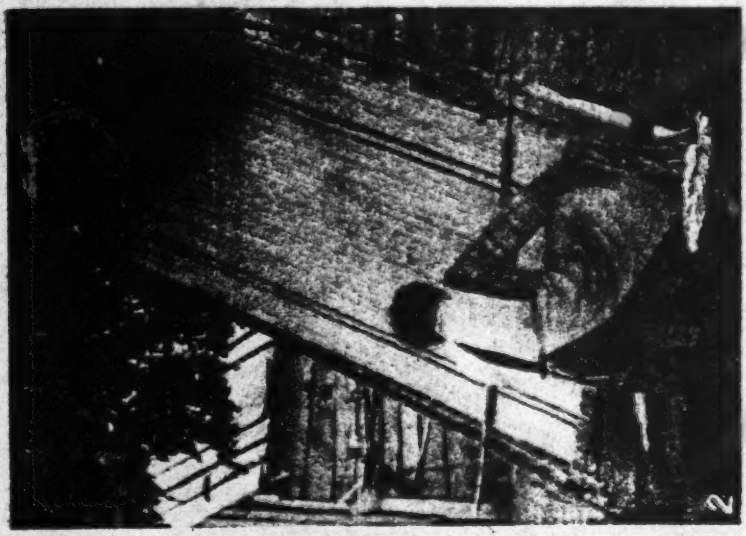
271 Drinking water—uncontaminated, clear, and clean—is taken from springs. Springs are found at the upper ends of ravines, on worn-down sides of hills, or in brooks or rivers, where one can see them bubbling up. Ruka are built only where springs exist. No family in the areas studied had a well. Water is carried to the ruka in cántaros [857] or pails. Children usually fetch it.

272 177 At the end of a meal a beverage known as yerba maté is taken by all adults and many children (pl. 51, *3*). This drink was only recently introduced among Araucanians. A 60-year-old Coñaripe woman remembered when an Araucanian man first taught them how to drink it; he had learned to do so in Argentina. "This was during the First World War. Little by little the Mapuche began to drink it. I drank the first yerba maté when my eldest son was a baby; he is now 26 years old. We buy packages of it in Temuco, Villarrica, and Loncoche." It is made by pouring boiling water on the leaves of *Ilex paraguariensis*, a non-Araucanian commercial product imported from Argentina and Paraguay. Usually it is prepared for drinking in a [415] dried gourd; sometimes in a spherical porcelain cup, called maté. In either case it is sipped slowly through a bombilla. If the beverage is preferred sweetened, sugar is mixed with the herb before the boiling water is poured on it.

273 If chicha, a fermented juice made of grains, fruits, or berries, or wild apples (manzanas silvestre) or cultivated ones, is at hand, it is usually drunk in place of yerba maté. Both homemade and commercial chicha is taken. Cooper's sources listed maize, quinoa, araucaria nuts, and, in later times, wheat and barley as being used in making fermented beverages; also berries and fruits, such as molle (*Schinus latifolius*), maqui, myrtle berries, strawberries (frutilla, *Fragaria chilensis*), and, in more recent times, apples, pears, quinces, and potatoes (1946, p. 741). Today Araucanians who wish to make chicha generally use the juice of apples or the berries of maqui or voqui colorado. Some old people use wheat, or berries other than those of maqui. Usually this beverage is consumed before it reaches the stage of alcoholic fermentation.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Chile

286



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Spinning and weaving: 1, Eight-year-old Alepie girl spinning yarn of wool on the traditional spindle. 2, A young Coñaripe woman weaving a blanket.

[p. 220(F)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

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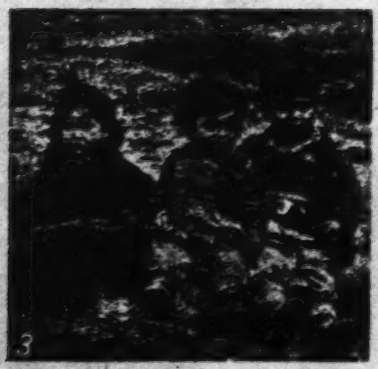

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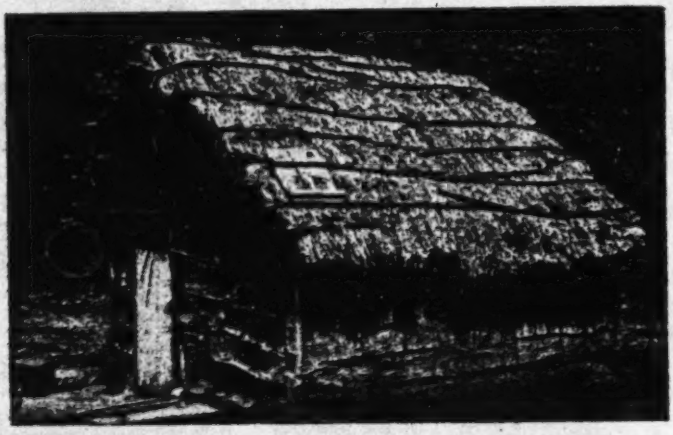
Araucanian children: 1, Bringing buckets of water from the spring (Pilpil). 2, Four-year-old boy playing with a two-wheeled toy made by his father (Trumpul). 3, Three children awakened from a nap to have their picture taken (Trumpul). 4, "Who are you?" (Pilpil.) 5, "I am winning this time!" (Pilpil.)

[p. 268(C)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

342



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A dwelling, children, and view of Trumpul area: 1, A 1-room dwelling of adobe-plastered walls and thatched roof. Smoke is emitted at gable ends; light is admitted through opening in roof seen covered with boards. (Malleo.) 2, Schoolboy feeding his sick cat. (Notice his hairline and his Mongolian eyelids.) (Quilaquina.) 3, Playing with sticks and romping in the meadow (Trumpul). 4, Mountain slopes on Lago Lacar inhabited by Araucanians (Trumpul). Cleared areas are wheat fields.

[p.268(D)]

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

A mother traveling on foot usually carried her baby in her arms. 854
One old enough to walk was often transported on the back of an adult, with arms around the adult's neck, while the adult held the feet of the child.

Generally the father made a cradle for his first child shortly before its birth, and it was kept by the family for the use of all subsequent children; occasionally the expectant mother or a relative made it.

A child not able to walk spent the greater part of the day in its cradle amusing itself watching other persons, especially its mother; its naps were also taken in its cradle. A restless or crying baby had its hands freed so it could play with them. The cradle with its baby was laid down, leaned against an object or wall, or suspended in the house or from a branch of a shade tree by means of a leather band which was securely attached at the head end. "Last week I saw a cradle-board hanging from a rafter in my husband's brother's house. An [857] older girl was swinging her little baby sister in it, back and forth. It really amused me, but I thought it was nice. The baby's father had made the cradle; it looked new." At night the baby slept with its mother, out of its cradle.

A hammock, shaped like an ellipse, was made by securely tying the overlapping ends of a colihüe stalk or a willow, and then fastening to them, at many points on it, a piece of pelt of young guanaco or lamb. The pelt was fastened rather loosely to provide a dip in which the child could sit. Sometimes the pelt was padded with wool. One woman had recently used a folded flour sack in place of a pelt.

The hammock was suspended in the house, or from the limb of a tree, by means of two thongs or cords of equal lengths so fastened to the rim as to cross each other at midpoint. It was set in motion, often by another child, to quiet a restless baby, thus affording the mother an opportunity to keep on with her work.

LULLABIES

Both burdened and nonsense-syllabled lullabies were sung to babies 854
to put them to sleep, to quiet their crying, to amuse them, and "just 533
because I loved my baby." "We never let a baby cry long. Its mother will take it in her arms and walk back and forth and sing, 'Be quiet, now. Be quiet, now. We're going for a walk.'" One informant pretended to pull a string and swing a hammock, and sang in Araucanian, "Kaipai mailón. Kaipai mailón. Kaipai mailón. Uman tune." (Now comes the malón [sudden attack by an enemy]. Now comes the malón. Now comes the malón. Sleep you, my little child.) Another

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

to forty white beans, about the length of the first joint of the thumb from tip to knuckle, are split into halves and the flat side of each half blackened. A throw is spread on the ground, and players squat about it. An informant demonstrated the playing of the game. In the absence of beans, he took buttons from a sewing basket nearby, shook them loosely in his closed hand with fingers downward, saying, "Mariche, mariche, mariche" (10 persons, 10 persons, 10 persons).—He might have said, "Mari kachu, mari kachu, mari kachu" (20, 20, 20), or "Wewan, wewan, wewan" (I shall win, I shall win, I shall win), or a similar repetition of words.—Without warning he threw the buttons, with some force, upon the throw. The player wins and is awarded the stake when either all the blackened sides or all the white sides of the beans turn up simultaneously. Each player takes his turn. Large stakes formerly included several horses, silver parts of harnesses, and clothing. Today large stakes—rarely played for, however—are a horse, a pig, a sheep, a goat, several chickens, and, on rare occasions, a bridle, or a piece of homespun clothing such as a poncho. Usually today stakes are a bottle of wine, a package of yerba maté or something similar in value bought at a store. Formerly boys staked tops that were spun by hand, which were more highly prized than those spun by means of a cord. 525

A hockey game known as chueca (palin) is played today when a goodly number of people from different sections come together. Opposing teams of six or seven men play. Each player deals a common ball a blow with his hockey stick to get the ball either into the goal of his side or to keep it from the goal of the opposite side. Ground reserved for playing chueca is called lelfün in all areas except Malleo, where it is called palitun. 526 [184]

TOYS, IMITATIVE PLAY, PETS

No informant had had a real doll or even a semblance of one carved of wood or made of grass or rags. Play objects, when old informants were children, generally were things found about the place, such as sticks, stones, or insects, or those that children could make, like tops or miniature pieces of pottery "like my mother made." 857 524

Children, today, too, have few toys, if any. "When my children were babies I gave them a spoon to play with. When they were older they played around outside and amused themselves with whatever they found." A 30-year-old father, however, believed that children should have toys, and therefore he made a 2-wheeled toy (pl. 62, *2*) for his 4-year-old son, and also smoothed off a cow's knuckle for the boy for

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

857 524 a traditional game known as kaʃnin—a game played by throwing the knuckle at a goal. The father remarked that an occasional older brother will make similar playthings for a younger brother. During an interview the 4-year-old boy amused himself for a short time in the house by playing kaʃnin. Tired of this, he spent a short time tossing the knuckle into the air and catching it. After that he ran out into the rain and kicked it like a ball through rain puddles. Neither his father nor his grandmother, both of whom were being interviewed, checked him, although it was raining considerably. Back in the house, he tossed the knuckle into the air again and in doing so got close to the hot stove. For this the grandmother scolded him. Continuing his tossing, he landed the knuckle near the interpreter, who then placed her foot on it. When he did not succeed in getting it out from under her foot, he stood still, looked at it, and waited patiently and quietly until she removed her foot. He took the knuckle then, but immediately dropped it and again ran out into the rain. This time he rode his 2-wheeled toy. Pretending he was riding a horse, he hit back of himself with a switch as do horseback riders who wish to speed up the horse.

857 I also saw children entertaining themselves by carrying younger children on the back, letting them drop off unexpectedly, thereby giving other children a hearty laugh (pl. 63, *3*). Three girls, 4, 6, and 13 years of age, caught a dabano (a large buzzing insect), put it into a paper bag, blew into the bag to disturb the insect, and then listened with glee at the buzz it made each time it flew against the sides of the bag. To let the field assistant enjoy the buzz also, they held the bag near her ear.

A group of children and adults listening to an interview were much amused at the surprised look of a 1-year-old child that had caught its hand in a yerba maté cup. Later the grandmother, on whose lap the baby was sitting, entertained it by putting its hand in and out of the cup, tickling its stomach, pinching its cheeks and ears, and covering its eyes but letting it peek, off and on, at the other children present.

Schoolboys and their preschool brothers and sisters entertained themselves during an interview by painting red disks with berries of michai on each others cheeks, saying they wanted to look like the ladies in San Martín de los Andes. Two boys hurdled sand banks that they had built after mimicking galloping horses (pl. 62, *5*). Their little sister stood by and watched them; the mother would not let her hurdle, as it was not the thing for girls to do.

857 23 Formerly, domesticated animals were not pets, but young orphaned rheas and guanacos were. "A man might kill a mother rhea," said

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

Kolupan, "and then notice that she had a little one. Or a man might kill a guanaco, and then see its little orphaned offspring. Such a little animal was taken home and there raised by the children. It became their pet. It might walk away from home, some distance into the open country, but it would always return to the children." Today, an occasional child has a pet animal, such as a kitten, cat, dog, or chicken (pl. 63, *s*).

SWIMMING, HORSEBACK RIDING

In the early days all children learned to swim; at present, in general, only boys do so. At the time of my visit, 70-year-old women swam, but their 20-year-old granddaughters did not know how. All children in the early days rode horseback, and many do so today.

HEALTH

PREVENTIVES OF ILL HEALTH; CAUSES OF ILL HEALTH, PHYSICAL AND MENTAL

Children, it was believed, would develop robust bodies if they were breast fed, always bathed in cold water, made to go without food in the early part of the day, given much raw meat to eat, and made to walk barefoot. "My father was brought up that way; he lived to be 130 years old and was never sick at any time in his life. How our young Araucanians of today will keep well is difficult to say; they are given coffee with milk early in the morning, and marmalade, too! And no raw meat!" Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians spoke of Araucanians older than 100 years who had never been sick. "At present my eyes bother me; they feel sore," said an informant older than 100 years. She maintained her own house, cooked her own meals, kept chickens, and spun yarn, "but I cannot weave any more; my arms get too tired now when I weave." Deep wrinkles crisscrossed her face; her hair was slightly gray, and she had lost most of her teeth.

Causes of ill health lay in sorcery. Quoting Kolupan: "When sickness comes upon you, someone has done you harm; witches (kalku) have done it. There are always a few persons around that have the powers of witchcraft. They either put poison into your food, or, when they are not where the food is, they do harm from a distance. If an antidote can be obtained early, you can get well again; if not, you will have to die. Most herbalists and machis know which plants to use or what to do as an antidote." He then told the following as an example of how the cause of sickness could be discovered: "This happened when I was a child. Olul, someone whom no one ever saw,

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

down the tree where it was dispatched by three or four dogs. Huemul were chased to exhaustion by dogs, and then lassoed. 224

Hares and birds were snared. Today, school-age boys snare rabbits and birds in a noose as formerly. A rabbit snare was made of a heavy cord with a noose at one end. This was laid in a path or in a place under a fence where rabbits were known to pass. The other end of the cord was tied to a stationary object, such as a post or tree. When the rabbit kicked the noose, it contracted about its legs. Formerly, according to the boys' grandmother, even Patagonian hares were caught in such snares, which at that time were made of long grass. Birds used to be, and still are, caught in a similar snare, being enticed into the noose by feed, such as grass seeds. The hunter nearby pulls the end of the rope and thus closes the noose about the bird's legs. [857]

Armadillos were killed with sticks and are so killed today. They are found on prairies and in mountain valleys. "You must hit quickly when you see one, and hit and hit. These animals are so quick in digging a hole into which to crawl that you may lose one before you know it. Grab his tail if he is getting into the hole before you have killed him; but do not be surprised if you hold his tail and see him disappearing into the ground. There are two kinds of armadillos; I like the meat of the small ones best."

Fish native to Andean lakes in the Araucanian country and taken by the Araucanians for food were the pejerrey (remü or kauke); the peladilla (peliolo or peloilla), a scaleless fish; the trucha criolla or perca (lipəŋ); the cauque (malche); and the puyen (upesh). 226

In the first decade of the 1900's, Andean lakes and rivers were stocked with fish from the United States, England, and Germany (Moreno, 1945, pp. 121-138). Araucanians call these fish by their Spanish names—they have no Araucanian names for them. They are the trucha de arroyo; trucha arco iris; trucha marron or trucha europea; and the salmon. Informants accused the salmon of exterminating the native pejerrey and peladilla from their waters.

Fishing, in the early days, was done in streams. Perca and cauque were speared from the shore in the spring, or at any time when there was high water. A fishing spear was a long colihüe pole pronged at the smaller end in fanlike fashion with four or five thinner, sharply pointed colihüe stalks (informant indicated this by spreading the fingers of his hand). The fisherman either walked along the shore spearing fish he spied, or he remained standing in one place on the shore waiting for fish to pass him. Fish were driven his way by a person who walked slowly and quietly downstream toward him. The slight noise of the footsteps caused the fish to swim downstream to

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
Argentina

Children by themselves, however, fished as their elders did. Today fishing may be done only by those who hold a permit issued by the Argentine Government.

Formerly a bivalve shellfish called macha was collected by women and children. It lay, unattached, between stones along the shores of lakes.

FOOD, SHELTER, CLOTHING

FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION, COOKING IMPLEMENTS, MEALS

In the early days meat of wild animals was the main food. Chief among these were the guanaco and rhea; puma and armadillo were also favorite meats. In more recent years, the wild horse, also, was captured for food.

A favorite dish was raw guanaco meat, still warm, especially the heart and kidneys. Guanaco blood, or the blood of any large animal, was caught during the slaughtering of the animal, mixed with salt and chili, and when coagulated eaten as a delicacy. Another favorite dish was seasoned guanaco lung, known as apoll. Whenever a guanaco was caught alive, it was suspended by the mouth by means of a strap, and its trachea and an adjoining vein were cut. At intervals spoonfuls of salt and chili were poured into the trachea. The guanaco, gasping for air, caused the salt and chili and also blood from the vein to go into the air passage of the lungs. When the lungs were filled with blood and seasoning, the guanaco was killed. The lungs were removed, drawn back and forth through boiling water several times, and then stuck on a pole for everyone to help himself. "We make apoll today from the lung of a lamb, sheep, calf, or goat; apoll is really delicious."

Guanaco meat was also broiled in small pieces close to an open fire. Each piece hung off a spit firmly planted slantwise in the ground. Other meats broiled in the same manner were puma, wild boar, huemul, pudú, and horse. Meats of all kinds were also cooked with wild grain—in more recent years with cultivated grains and vegetables—and eaten as stews. Dog meat was not served as food, but meat of a dog younger than one year was eaten to alleviate stomach ailments. An oversupply of meat was stored as jerked meat (ayim ilo). It was cut into thin slices, salt was pounded well into each slice, and then all slices were hung in the sun and air to dry.

A rhea (pl. 74, *3*) was plucked of its feathers and its skin removed without tearing it. The meat was removed, finely chopped, a mixture of salt and chili worked into it with both hands, and then returned to the skin. The skin with its contents was placed on hot stones at the

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

855 source of comfort and security during the early years of childhood, despite the father's willingness to pamper and fondle his youngest children in his spare time. This is partly due to the fact that a father is often too occupied with other matters during most of the day. Children are generally within their mother's sight throughout the day, even though playing outside the *ruka*.

855 857 Disputes between children are settled somewhat authoritatively by their mother if she is annoyed at the disturbance they are making. Otherwise a mother will take a good deal of time in settling their differences, listening to the disputants and giving her judgments on a fair settlement. This is also true for the father, and, in general, parental action in such matters might be described as "rational," explanation rather than dictum being the characteristic way of settling squabbles among their children—at least until parental patience is exhausted.

868 When a girl reaches the age of ten or twelve, her mother or older sister devotes more serious attention to her instruction in domestic duties. For one thing, she will be taught how to prepare a complete meal rather than merely assisting with part of it. She begins to take over more responsibility in household management. Mothers boast [52] of their daughters' ability and, apparently to dissemble their feelings of pride, tend to complain about certain lacks. They find fault with details or else complain of something which is done almost perfectly, by way of indicating that their daughter customarily does much better.

If a girl has recently learned to prepare and bake bread she is usually open to some uncomplimentary remarks from her siblings in [52] regard to her efforts and the quality of the bread. This embarrasses her considerably, and she might break into tears or run from the house. These are trials for the girl, and she must weather them over an extended period. She will be reminded of her failings periodically. Her mother offers her some consolation and suggests ways in which she might improve herself, but she does not coddle her. If her first attempt goes very badly, the girl might not consent to try her hand again for a long time. This is generally condoned by the mother. If the girl manifests extreme obdurateness, however, her mother's patience wears thin and a minor family crisis might result. The teasing remarks and grimaces of her siblings complicate the girl's difficulties. In time all girls become fairly proficient in cooking and baking, although there are differences between sisters in the quality of certain

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

dishes which are quick to be noted by the rest of the family and often acknowledged by the girl herself. 868

The mother's relationship with her daughter up until the time of the girl's marriage is that of teacher more than comforter. There is nevertheless a great deal of tenderness displayed between them. A daughter will sit by her mother next to the fire at night, lean against her, hold her hand, and perhaps even wash her feet for her at bedtime. 593

The daughter looks to her mother for approval. After marriage the situation changes, since the day-to-day relationship ceases and is replaced by occasional visiting between mother and daughter. When the two visit, however, the meeting is apt to involve a good many nostalgic tears and, depending on whether or not wine or *chicha* are served, maudlin affection. If the mother visits her daughter it is also an occasion for her to inspect the daughter's household, children, and husband. Small gifts are often exchanged at these meetings. 593 594 [293] [431]

Father-Child Relationships

There is no appreciable difference in the relationship between mother and daughter as against mother and son during the early years of childhood. The time comes, nevertheless, when a boy begins to receive instruction in man's activities from his father and/or older brother. The boy accompanies the father to the fields, to other households where he remains in the company of men and listens to their discussions, or to town where commercial transactions might be carried out by the father and a Chilean businessman. Usually, after getting a taste of this adult world, the boy tends to evade his domestic chores and assume a grown-up manner at critical moments. Although this attitude may bring censure from his father, as it surely does from his mother, it is a sign of adolescent restiveness which is recognized by the parents. The boy looks forward to opportunities to accompany his father out of the house, and he is permitted to do so more and more frequently if his father is pleased with him. 868 [593] [883]

Generally, boys begin to tend the animals in pasture when they are seven or eight years of age, and even earlier if they assist an older sibling. But this sort of activity is participated in by girls as well. This is usually when there are no boys of suitable age in the family. Boys remark that girls pasture the animals and that they themselves are growing too old for this. While shepherding and tending cows and horses is pleasant enough work which provides occasions for contact and play with other girls and boys of the reservation, it is not adult 869 857 233 [815]

ll:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

work. A boy looks forward to doing field work, which he has been conditioned to regard as one of the proper adult roles.

Although a boy does not fully engage in field work until he reaches the age of fifteen, sixteen, or seventeen, when he is trusted to plough, harrow, or harvest by himself, he is generally allowed to help in some limited way under the supervision of his father before this. As soon as this type of work is open to him, a boy assumes adult mannerisms, seriously discussing agricultural matters which he has heard others discuss for many years. Now he listens and talks with greater interest and intensity. He strives for his father's approval and, if he is fairly competent, usually is encouraged by him. He is also subject to the family's ridicule if he does not perform well. Unlike his sister, however, he will unfailingly maintain composure in the face of it, for this is the manly thing to do.

Gradually a boy achieves competence in most things, but the learning process, in which he is subordinate to his father, continues until the father desists from actual supervision of the work and leaves it entirely in the hands of his son. Actually, this relationship endures throughout the active life of the father. Usually the theme of industriousness characterizes the instruction long after the son has acquired manual skill and judgment equal to that of his father – even surpassing the old man in some things, which is not unusual today. The father sets himself up as the example to follow, and the son tends to be deeply molded after the manner of his teacher, sharing his values and living up to them to the same degree as the father. While the values tend to be traditional, rather than idiosyncratic, there is yet a good deal of individual variation between households because of differential adherence to them, and the usual great similarity between the attitudes of father and grown sons, in most respects, speaks for the former's strong influence in the socialization of the latter.

The entire family shows deference toward the father. He is considered the most astute politically, in matters of trade, cattle raising, farming, and most other rural pursuits. He does however, take the counsel of his wife and older sons, especially the sons, who have generally been to school and are more conversant with Chilean culture and therefore more perceptive regarding certain agricultural trends, and so forth. Although this is so in many cases, and it seems that instances of this kind are increasing, decisions – especially those concerning the homestead – are given final voicing by the father. To one who knew the Mapuche for only slightly more than a year, it was

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

activity, primarily to set the stage for a discussion of courtship and the implications of certain social changes for traditional courtship and marriage practices. Examples of illicit love affairs and premarital pregnancy are provided to help in understanding something of the sanctified aspect of marriage and the nature of exogamic organization. Marriage is then discussed in terms of its arrangements, in which section much descriptive data are provided to clarify the relationships which marriage establishes between two kingroups. The arrangement and structural significance of secondary unions are treated at the end of the chapter.

SEXUAL EXPERIENCE AND ATTITUDES

Older Mapuche say that young people today have greater opportunities for sexual activity than formerly. While the accuracy of this statement is somewhat tinged by overtones of moral judgment, it seems an essentially correct observation. Interpersonal contacts have widened in a number of ways. In the period of large unilocal households or *lofche* clusters, families were physically separated from one another and the extended-family groups were relatively self-contained. Young people were considerably more isolated than they are under today's crowded reservation conditions. Furthermore, in the past their contacts with peers were more often supervised by adults than they are today. Nowadays, contacts with a larger and more differentiated peer group are relatively sustained, rather than intermittent as they were several generations ago under different social conditions.

Preschool-age children associate with housemates and children of nearby houses while performing daily chores such as tending animals in pasture. School children participate in these activities in the afternoon and during the summer vacation period. They comprise the senior members of the group and act as its leaders and general counselors, and are founts of information about sexual matters. By and large, these groups are composed of closely related youngsters who are members of the same lineage and who tend not to engage in sexual experimentation among themselves, although they discuss sexual matters avidly.

Children are aware of their parents' sex activities and on occasion make lewd reference to them among their peers. Sexual intercourse between spouses takes place most often in the family dwelling at night.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

ships which constitute incest. Moreover, the age of the individuals concerned is a factor in determining the seriousness of an incestuous relationship. Among young adolescents, for example, an incestuous relationship, while subject to strong censure, does not bring social ostracism. There is, then, a certain flexibility in the supposedly immutable incest barrier.

Aside from the above-mentioned restraints, young people are not closely watched by their parents. When children begin to attend reservation school, their daily contacts with peers are prolonged into late adolescence. In addition to becoming more closely acquainted with other young people from their own reservation, they meet boys and girls from surrounding reservations who might have remained virtual strangers to them otherwise. If they do not attend school, which is increasingly rare today, their association with their peer group might be disrupted at about the age of ten or eleven years, when they begin to take on adult responsibilities in and around the home. This applies more to girls than boys, since the former then become largely housebound. Their interreservational contacts are relatively few until they gain more independence from parental authority, generally not until after adolescence. This situation seems to have been traditional.

Sexual intercourse is often first experienced by boys during early adolescence, while still attending school. For most girls, however, it is said that this experience comes a few years later and usually under the guise of courtship. There are "popular" girls, though, who are known to loiter on the way home from school or at a stream while fetching water or firewood to tryst with boys. Sexual intercourse often occurs at these rendezvous, but it is considered almost wholly experimental and, barring pregnancy, free from compromise. If a boy's parents hear of his involvement in this type of affair, they are not particularly disturbed. He might be admonished as "bad" or "lazy" and told not to waste his time, but he will not be chastized. At that, he might momentarily gain the mock admiration of his older siblings. A girl will be more severely reprimanded and, thereafter, more closely watched. If she persists in sexual indulgence and becomes promiscuous, bringing disgrace on her family, the household will suffer from discord and uneasiness. She might be taken out of school and kept at home, or her parents might send her to a relative who lives some distance away. However, when she marries the matter is resolved, and husbands do not recriminate with wives over past indiscretions.

Actually, there is little promiscuity in the sense of boys and girls